

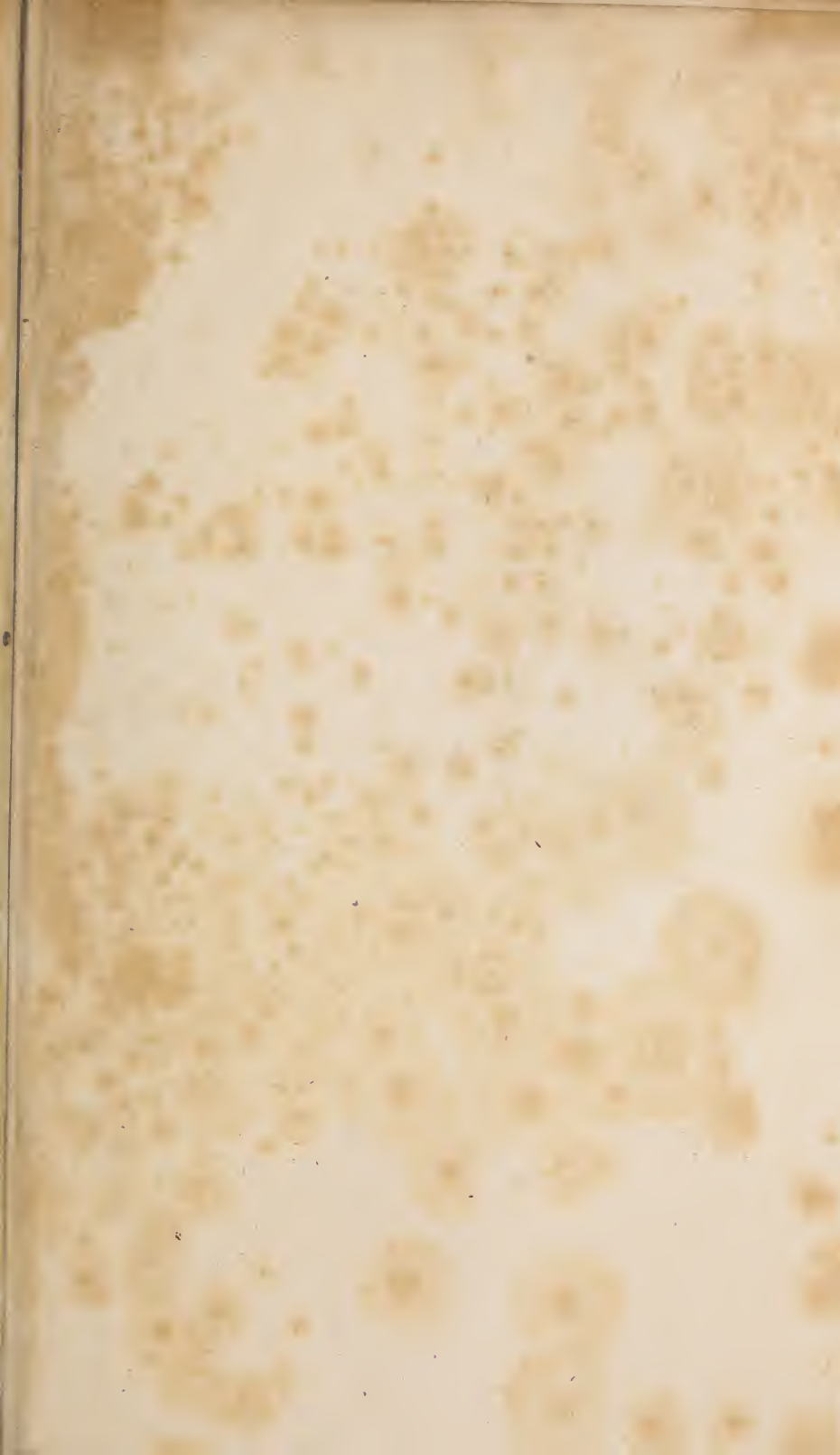


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[NO. 12.

[From the London Anti-Slavery Reporter.]

LORD PALMERSTON ON THE HORRORS OF THE
SLAVE TRADE.

Lord Palmerston, in rising to make the motion of which he had given notice for several returns relating to slavery, which returns, he presumed her Majesty's government had no objection to grant, wished to make some few observations on the subject of the slave trade. The subject, which was one of great interest and importance, was not new to the house, but had now for nearly half a century engaged the attention of parties. All the most distinguished and most eminent men who had lived during that period had exerted all the energies of their minds to put an end to this abominable traffic, whether sitting on the one side or the other—whether within or without these walls. They had so far succeeded, that they had rescued this country from the foul stain of slavery, and, as a consequence of the abandonment of the trade, the condition of slavery itself was abolished throughout the dominions of England. It was well known that these great results were not accomplished without much labor, and without much lapse of time. Many years had elapsed since those investigations had taken place, which, by laying bare, in all their hideous deformity, the disgusting atrocities connected with the prosecution of the slave trade, brought round the minds of men, in England at least, to pursue that guilty traffic no longer. These details had been well-nigh forgotten; and there were few who, at this time of day, could form to themselves any adequate conception how intense was the suffering, and how extensive was the cruelty, of which the slave trade was the cause. It was difficult to arrive, with any degree of certainty, at a calculation of the number of negroes who were annually landed on the continent of America for the purpose of

being there consigned to slavery. The governments of the countries in which these negroes were sold permitted no return. Therefore, all accounts must be in some degree conjectural. One thing, however, we might be sure of, viz : that they must fall exceedingly short of truth. What, then, were the numbers which, it had been calculated, was the annual importation into the islands and continent of America? Vandervelt, in his most able work on the subject, compiled from official documents, and containing, in a condensed form and in a small compass, more valuable information than, perhaps, any work of equal size could afford—Vandervelt, a man of the greatest industry and character, calculated the number of those annually landed, during the two previous years, at 120,000 or 130,000. Sir Fowell Buxton, in his work, a most interesting and most valuable work, put the number at 150,000 at least. Whichever of these two numbers we took, whether we considered the annual importation of negroes as represented by 130,000 or 150,000, what an enormous amount of human misery and of human crime did that simple statement afford! Let any man consider within himself what 150,000 people were. Let any man who had seen large armies collected think whether it had ever fallen to his lot to see 150,000 men collected at once under his eye; or let any man imagine that he saw that number assembled—that as they passed by they were travelling fast towards their doom—that that mass of human beings was doomed to a painful and to a premature death under every variety of bodily and mental torture; if he was told that that was not a single case, but that year after year the same ground was trodden by an equal number, urged forward to the same melancholy doom—could any man who saw such a state of things brought before his eyes, fail to hope for the vengeance of Heaven on those who were the authors of such enormities? And what would not be the condemnation which he would pass upon those who, although able, had neglected to employ the means of preventing those evils? It was calculated, and he believed not without true data, that, for every negro who had landed, two others had perished in the previous stages of slavery. Whatever number, therefore, might be landed, you must multiply that number by three to arrive at the total number of human persons swept from the population of Africa only by this detestable slave trade. It was well known that the negroes were not collected in the immediate neighborhood of the places at which they were embarked. They came, many of them, from a great distance in the interior of Africa; they were marched many hundreds of miles from the interior to the coast; some of them were captives taken in war—in war stimulated and brought on by the thirst of gain to be derived from the sale of the captives; but the greater number were the result of that slave-hunting and man-stealing which prevailed almost all over the interior of Africa. The way in which that took place was shortly this:—When the time of year came round for sending a slave caravan to the coast, some peaceful, happy village whose unsuspecting inhabitants were buried in that repose which nature had kindly bestowed upon man to fit him for the useful occupations and innocent enjoyments of the succeeding day—some peaceful African village, in the dead of night, was surrounded by the armed ruffians of some neighboring prince; the huts of which the village was composed were fired, the inhabitants, roused from their sleep by the

flames in which they were enveloped, rushed forth, and endeavored to escape, some by flight, some by resistance; all attempts were in vain; those who resisted were overpowered, and either slain or made captives. Sometimes a hill village was attacked, which afforded greater means of escape. The inhabitants fled to the neighboring caverns, and some took refuge on higher ground; the caverns were besieged, fires were lighted, and those who had taken shelter were compelled to a choice between suffocation within or captivity without. The wells and springs on which the natives depended for water, were occupied, and those who fled to higher ground were soon compelled, by the incurable torments of thirst, to come down and barter their liberty for their lives. Slaves were then made, and then came the selection. The hale and healthy of either sex, children between six and seven years of age, were put aside to be marched with the caravan to the coast; the aged, the infirm, the infant torn from its mother's breast, the child under six or seven years of age, wrenched from its parent's grasp, was murdered on the spot. As to the aged, it would be impossible, it would be without profit to maintain them, consequently they were left to perish of hunger. The caravan set out; men, women, and children, half naked, bare-footed, the weak driven on by the lash, the strong restrained from flight by yokes and chains, were marched hundreds and hundreds of miles across the burning sands, over the stony passes of the African mountains. Some dropped down dead as they went along, and others were left a prey to wild beasts. Multitudes perished in that way, and travellers who had visited the interior, told that slave caravans might be traced by the bones of hundreds, nay, of thousands of human skeletons which lay bleaching in the path. The slaves having arrived on the coast, were sometimes detained for weeks before the arrival of a slave ship; and from the manner in which they were packed together, death was busy in thinning their ranks. The captain of the slaver having at length arrived, he went into the market and made his selection, taking care to reject those in whom he thought he detected disease, and selecting only those whom he had a prospect of getting safe to his destination. Those who were rejected were put out of the way in some manner, or were left to perish. The calculation, and he believed it was not at all exaggerated, was, that whatever number of slaves were put on board, at least an equal number perished previously, either in the seizure, during the march, or the detention in the barracoons. Then came the passage, and with it a scene of greater suffering—of such intense horror, that it was out of the power of any man to conceive it who had not seen it. It was a well-known fact, that whatever might be the size of the slave ship, the slave captain always took a fourth or a third more than his ship was calculated to hold. This was done on a true arithmetical calculation, just as a person who was sending a pipe of wine round upon the Indian voyage always sent a quarter-cask, in order to make up for leakage and evaporation; so the slave captain took an extra number of slaves on board, to make up for the deaths he felt certain would occur during the passage. Because, although he chose none but those whose appearance gave indication of health, still he was aware that many of them might have the seeds of disease lingering in their constitution, which grief, the change of diet, and want of good air would bring out; therefore it was

that he provided himself with a supernumerary cargo. But that provision only aggravated all the evils attendant upon the horrid trade, and caused more vacancies in consequence of the care taken to fill them up. The result of all these circumstances was, that scarcely a day passed on which dead bodies were not thrown overboard. But was that all? He was sorry to say that, so far from it, it was too clearly proved that the living were very often committed to the deep along with the dead. It was well known that on board ship the slaves were often well enough in the morning, sickened in the evening, and were corpses before the next day. No doubt in that case they were put overboard; but where the disease assumed a lingering form, and the slaver saw that the slave must inevitably die before he could get him to market, or, if got there, would be valueless, he knew that he had already suffered a certain loss; and in order to keep it at the minimum, and to save the further loss which must accrue by keeping him, the order was given, and overboard the living victim was hurried—(hear, hear.) That was by no means an uncommon transaction. He was sorry to say that it was not uncommon even in our own ships when this country tolerated the detestable traffic. It was in proof in a trial which took place in this country, that an English ship, commanded by a person named Collingwood, was, in 1783, on a voyage to Jamaica with a cargo of slaves; the ship got out of her course, the water ran short, and the provisions were scanty. The captain, knowing that if the negroes died from want his owners would not recover the insurance money, but that they would if he could make it appear that he was compelled to throw them overboard, did not hesitate, but in that manner sacrificed 132 lives. Those ships were often subject to ophthalmia, and sometimes to wreck. It was in evidence before a committee of that house, that a French slave ship was overtaken by the disease, and only one man on board was capable of steering the vessel. On the passage they fell in with a Spanish ship, also a slaver, which was apparently drifting at the mercy of the wind and waves; on board of that ship there was not one man who could see to steer her or direct her course; she, however, arrived at Guadaloupe, but the French vessel was never heard of more. The spaces in which the slaves were confined on board ship were necessarily small. The bottom of the hold was filled with water-casks; they were covered over with a platform of unplanned boards, and on them the naked negro was compelled to lie. Sometimes they had nothing but loose boards. The distance between that platform and the next deck, never exceeded three and a half feet, sometimes it was not more than two and a half, and necessarily the negro was confined in a very small compass; indeed, so much so, that one of the witnesses said “a negro on board a slave ship had not so much room to lie in as a man in a coffin.” How pestilential must be the air of such a place; the effluvia must be horrible! In order to remedy that as much as possible, the hatchways of slave ships were made larger than in those devoted to legitimate commerce, and were covered with an open grating. In fine, or even in moderate weather, those precautions might answer the purpose; but when they were overtaken by a storm those gratings were obliged to be covered over in order to prevent the sinking of the ship, and then how horrible must be the sufferings of those so huddled

together below ! He would not attempt to depict the scene. Any one wishing to make themselves acquainted with the horrible facts, would find them ably and faithfully detailed in the pamphlet of the Rev. Mr. Hill, entitled, "Fifty Days on board a Slaver." The reverend gentleman attributed the scenes he witnessed to the inexperience of the prize crew, and that what he witnessed must be unparalleled ; in that, however, he was mistaken, for it had been proved, over and over again, that many died of suffocation hourly while the storm lasted. From all these various causes, it was calculated that at least one-third of the negroes taken on board, perished before they reached the coast of America, so that there was another fearful amount to be added to the number which had perished before ; in fact, if 150,000 slaves reached the coast annually, the cost to Africa was between 300,000 and 400,000 lives. He believed that all the crimes of the human race, from the creation of the world down to the present moment, did not exceed the amount of guilt that had been incurred in the detestable slave trade—(hear, hear.) Such being the case, was it not the duty of every government, and of every nation which possessed the means of discouraging that trade, to employ all the means vouchsafed to them to put it down ? and if there were any government or any nation on whom that duty was more peculiarly pressing than another, it was ours. He admitted that much had been done, and that both our government and the nation might look back with satisfaction on the efforts which had been made, and which had met with, at least, partial success.

Then came the letter of the noble lord, who presided over the foreign department, to the Lords of the Admiralty, in May, 1842, on the subject of the proceedings which they (the late government) had sanctioned on the coast of Africa, with respect to the barracoons. That letter had a most injurious effect—(hear.) That letter produced a great sensation. He knew from various sources of information, that before it appeared, the parties engaged in the slave trade were disgusted, dismayed, and dispirited. But when that letter became public, it had the effect of persuading them that the present government meant to leave them alone and not to meddle with them. He looked on that letter as another unfortunate step. Then came the Ashburton capitulation (hear, and a laugh,) by which we surrendered not only a large extent of territory, but also all claim to demand of America the fulfilment of the article of the treaty of Utrecht. He did not hold that that treaty could bind succeeding American governments, for they, of course, would be at liberty to repudiate it ; but, at the present time, the American government could have had no ground for refusing to comply with it. This proceeding on the part of the present government was most unfortunate, and must tend to raise the spirits of the slave dealers. This was one point which he wished to clear up by the returns for which he now moved, as he was led to believe that the numbers of slaves imported into the West Indies and Brazil, in 1843, exceeded the numbers imported in the two or three preceding years. He should be told that her Majesty's government were anxious to put that trade down, and that they were using every possible activity for that purpose. He had entire belief in their sincerity ; he would not imply the slightest doubt of their sincerity ; but he had great doubts of the success of their mea-

tures. We were to have a blockade of the coast of Africa, and all the cruisers were to be drawn from Brazil and the West Indies to be concentrated on the coast of Africa. This might be deemed a good plan by officers who had been engaged on the coast of Africa; but he should like to know the opinions of the officers who had been engaged on the coast of the West Indies and Brazil. He knew what great applications had been made for an increased force on those coasts, but he also knew that many officers concurred in the expediency of transferring the cruisers to Africa. He had no intention of opposing his own opinion to that of practical men, but he must say that by such a course they would be likely to lose one chance out of two—(hear, hear.) To think of blockading with the fleets of England and France, and the 90 guns of the American government, (a laugh) the coast of Africa from the northern part on the west side, where the trade begins, to the northern part on the east side, where it ends, was quite preposterous. All that could be done was to give the cruisers shorter distances to guard, and to make them exercise more vigilance and attention. The greater part of the west coast was so studded with islands that a slaver might easily lie among them, and you might go within half a mile of the spot without seeing her. The number of places on the coast where slaves might be embarked was so great that it was useless to think of establishing a blockade in such a sense, at least, as we commonly understood the word, and if a ship once escaped the coast of Africa, she would have a fair run, and would be perfectly safe till she reached the port of destination. But he would ask, had the two governments considered the difficulties of this arrangement, arising from the narrow and confined limits of the French treaty? South of the 10th degree of latitude, on the western coast of Africa, and all along the eastern coast, there was no mutual right of search between England and France. This did not signify as long as they had cruisers on the coast of Brazil; for if a French ship should attempt to escape, and should be caught in the middle voyage, you could seize and deliver her to her own tribunals on the coast of Brazil; but if you withdrew the cruisers from the coast of Brazil, and should fail to obtain the mutual right of search on the parts of the African coast where you had not it now, the slave trade would be carried on from those parts in French ships and under the French flag. That was a point worthy of the attention of the government. It would be no answer to say that those parts would be watched by French cruisers, for, knowing that there was not the same feeling in France about the slave trade as there was in this country, he could not place the same confidence in the vigilance and activity of French cruisers, for the suppression of that trade, as he would in the cruisers of this country. He begged to move for “A return showing the total number of African negroes landed, for the purpose of slavery, on the islands and on the continent of America, from the year 1815 to the year 1843, both inclusive; distinguishing the number so landed in each of those years, and distinguishing also the number landed in each year on the territory of each separate state or power, so far as the same can be made up from documents in the possession of her Majesty’s government.”

The question having been put,

Sir R. Peel said: In all the first part of the speech of the noble lord, I cordially concur. I do believe that this is the most iniquitous traffic that

ever existed—that it engenders more of misery—that it stimulates to more of crime, than any public act which was ever committed by any nation, however regardless of the laws of God or man—(hear, hear.) Possibly the noble lord has rather overrated the number of slaves actually landed at the different ports on the coast of America and on other coasts. I may possibly differ from him as to the full extent to which slaves have been landed. For a succession of years the noble lord estimated them at 150,000. I think we may take the number at 100,000; but even if my estimate be the more correct one, I concur with him that the number actually landed is no test whatever of the misery and suffering inflicted on the people of Africa by the continuance of this traffic—(hear, hear.) I do not think that he overrates the numbers that are sacrificed in attempting to gain the price of the blood and sinews of the unfortunate men who are the victims of this system. In what light, I ask, must we, professing Christianity, exhibit ourselves to the people of Africa? What must they think of the precepts and doctrines and practices of that religion which we profess, when Europeans can be parties to the encouragement of this iniquitous traffic?—(hear, hear.) That is one of the great evils of it. It is an impediment to the spread of Christianity; for a savage people never can believe that those are really in possession of the truths of that religion to which they take pride in professing to belong, who can be parties to the infliction of such misery as that which is inflicted in consequence of the perpetration of these crimes. Sir, I say, too, with the noble lord, and it ought to be known, that there are two countries, and two only, now mainly responsible for the continuance of these crimes. There is, on the part of every other civilized country, with the exception of two, a desire to co-operate in the suppression of the trade in man. If Spain and if Brazil, would zealously apply themselves to the suppression of the slave trade, in those parts of the world within which they can exercise jurisdiction, in my opinion the slave trade might and would be suppressed entirely—(hear, hear.) France, Portugal, Denmark—to her honor, I believe she led the way, she set the example—this country, the United States of America, Prussia, Russia, Austria—every one of these powers is ready to co-operate in the suppression of the slave trade. But while these two powers oppose themselves to the suppression of it, no effectual progress can be made. Deep public guilt is upon the heads of those who derive a profit from the continuance of the slave trade, and who do not attempt to suppress it. It can clearly be shown that these are the only two countries, Spain and Brazil, that lend a sanction to the continuance of the traffic, and that they are the only two countries that derive a profit from it. They have the power to suppress it, and without their good will, whatever exertions we make—whatever sacrifices we may impose upon the people of this country—it is nearly impossible for us, almost unaided, as I think we are, in this respect, in active exertions to suppress the slave trade on the coast of the Brazils and Cuba, effectually to succeed. We can do much, no doubt, towards its suppression; but perfect success we cannot hope for except with the co-operation of the Spanish and Brazilian governments, who, whatever the gallantry of our sailors may achieve, and whatever the public burdens we may be willing to incur, are constantly counteracting and defeating, and by the connivance of

the local authorities, preventing the success of our efforts. It would be easy to show that Spain and Brazil might, if they chose, suppress this trade. Brazil made the attempt in 1840 and 1841, when the authorities interfered for the purpose of suppressing it, and the effect was immediate. During that period the government of Brazil, and the authorities acting under the direction of that government, did actually interfere and did discourage this traffic, and there was consequently a considerable diminution in the number of slaves imported into Brazil. With respect to Cuba, the experience of the last two years proves, conclusively, that it is in the power of an honest and active governor—setting his face with determination against the continuance of that traffic, notwithstanding all the incitements which avarice and love of gain may interpose—to take effectual measures for its suppression—(hear, hear.) I do think it greatly to the credit of the person who lately exercised power in Spain—I mean General Espartero—it is greatly to his credit, and to the credit of the government, with which he was connected, that he appointed, to take the command in Cuba, (hear, hear,) an honorable and enlightened man like General Valdez, (cheers,) who refused to participate in the gains which his predecessors had profited by from conniving at this traffic, and who called together the holders of estates and the merchants in Cuba, and told them that the orders of his government and his own sense of duty compelled him to discourage this traffic, and that discourage it he would. And for a time, as long as it was possible for him to do so, he adhered to that determination. The result was most extraordinary during the period that General Valdez administered the functions of the government in Cuba. In the year 1842, the importation of slaves did not exceed 3,100 men; when he assumed the government, the importations were, I believe, about 14,000. If I recollect right, in the very first year of his government, a diminution took place, and the number imported was but 8,000; and in 1842, the last year of government, the number was only 3,000. Thus I have attempted to show that when in 1840 and 1841 Brazil honestly exerted herself, there was a great diminution in the traffic in slaves. I have attempted to show that when there was an active and honest governor, determined to perform his duty, fulfilling his engagements towards this country, and acting on the instructions he received from the honest and enlightened government of which he was the officer, that then, as far as Cuba was concerned, the slave trade was effectually suppressed. Now these are decisive proofs, that without the concurrence of the national and local authorities in Brazil and Cuba, success is unattainable, but that with their concurrence it is possible and certain. *I, therefore, charge the governments of those countries for the whole of the responsibility, and for the whole of the sufferings which are now endured in consequence of the slave trade—*(cheers.) I do hope then that that part of the statement made by the noble lord, and confirmed by his successors in the administration, will have some effect. I do hope that the governments and the people of these countries will, from a regard to humanity and the dictates of religion, feel the grievous responsibility which has now devolved upon them—will feel that the eyes of Europe and the whole civilized world are on them, and that they are the responsible parties for the continuance of the traffic. But if these higher considerations and purer motives do not prevail, let me warn them

of the danger they are incurring—let me advise the government of Spain to look well at the present condition of Cuba. That country is in such a state that the tenure of power is most precarious. There is a feeling of determination on the part of the slave population to rid themselves of the evils which they are enduring, and which makes suffering and death light considerations in the balance—(hear, hear.) Torture has been applied under the sanction of the authorities—confessions have been made, and those confessions implicate almost the whole population—(hear, hear.) It is not a dissatisfaction with any particular law; it is not the amount of labor which is required to be performed in this or that place—it is the denial of the right of man to hold his fellow creature as a slave, which has spread throughout the whole of the black population of that country, exceeding, vastly as they do, in numbers and physical strength, the whites by whom they are kept in check, and affording conclusive evidence that there is a settled, deep determination to emancipate themselves from such a state of slavery as that to which they have been subjected. Those who have taken the most active part in this conspiracy, are those who have been most recently brought from the coast of Africa—men who are unenlightened by any education, and without the means of combination and conspiracy which must exist amongst those who have received some education. Surely, then, if purer and higher motives fail to influence the government of Spain, those of interest and policy must force themselves on its consideration—(cheers.) What I am stating is the truth, and nothing but the truth. It is confirmed by insurrections which are suppressed only by military force, and by the subsequent enforcement of the law, (for I presume it is the law in Cuba,) in a manner which I will not detail, and which, although it may insure temporary obedience, can only, in its ultimate results, tend to confirm the impressions we have held—(hear, hear.) Therefore, sir, I do make this appeal, in the face of the British Parliament, to those two countries which are responsible for the continuance of this traffic, not only by considerations of duty and regard to the positive will and order of the Supreme Being we all worship, but also from a regard to the most ordinary considerations of policy and self-interest. * *

The next point the noble lord urged as a proof that we had not advanced but retrograded with respect to the slave trade, was, that we have not taken the same view as himself respecting the destruction of the barracoons on the coast of Africa. The noble lord said he gave letters to naval officers, to have no very nice regard to the law of nations, but to destroy the barracoons, and liberate the slaves wherever they might find them. I must say, however, that I think by far the best course for this country to pursue in its relations to other powers, whether civilized or otherwise, is to adhere to the principles and established rules which regulate the intercourse of nations. No doubt we are a powerful country. No doubt it is possible for us to enter upon the coast of Africa and destroy these places; but it is important to know how other nations would regard such acts. Savage nations, perhaps, may make no demand for redress, but other European powers have interest on the coast of Africa; and, if we disregard the law of nations, we may have to decide whether or no we will persevere in the course we have adopted, or acknowledge ourselves in the wrong, and make compensation for the injury we have committed. The

ordinary course in these matters is to take the advice of the legal adviser of the Crown. We, therefore, referred this matter to the Queen's Advocate. We told him we were most anxious to exercise every power we possessed for preventing the slave trade, and wished to know if complaint were made whether we should be justified in the course the noble lord recommended? His answer was, that no law gave us a right to do this, and that if a life was lost, and we could be amenable to any tribunal, we should be chargeable with murder—(hear, hear.) We inquired whether the law of nations or the usage of nations would justify us in destroying the barracoons; and the opinion of the Queen's Advocate was, that, without a convention with a native African prince, we should not be justified, and, as in the former case, we should be responsible for what might occur. Under these circumstances we thought it right to give instructions to the naval officers to destroy these barracoons, where it could be done with sufficient legal authority, but otherwise to abstain from doing so until their proceedings could be justified by law. But as the opinion given to us was that we might do this with the consent of the native princes, we instructed them to make such treaties where it was practicable; and told them that we would support them when they acted under them—(hear, hear.) Now, I ask, under these circumstances, whether there is good grounds for the noble lord's imputations on the government? I say ours is the wiser course. The noble lord might perhaps liberate here and there a thousand slaves, and alarm the slave traders of Cuba by exercising powers beyond the law. But, in my opinion, it is better to exhibit ourselves to the native African princes as bound by the same rule with other powers, and that, whatever may be the extent of our power, we will not effect even good and laudible objects except in the spirit of law and justice—(hear, hear.) The next point to which the noble lord referred, is, to what has been called, although it is not technically such, the blockade of the coast of Africa, or the increase of our naval force there for the purpose of preventing the departure of vessels laden with slaves. The noble lord may be able to form a competent opinion on this question, but I can only say, if he denies that it will be effectual, we have had the opinion of several distinguished naval officers who have been stationed on the coast of Africa, and they concur in recommending it to the government as the most effectual measure that can be adopted for the suppression of the slave trade. Captain Matson, a most distinguished naval officer, and most competent to form a correct judgment on the subject—Captain Denman, an officer equally distinguished, and having had great experience on that coast, and captain Tucker—all concur in pointing this out as the most effectual method of putting down the slave trade—(hear, hear.) With these great naval authorities in our favor, we have felt it our duty to make this experiment. But it was not on these opinions only that the government acted. We did not take it for granted these opinions were correct. We referred these opinions to the high and tried authority of my right honorable friend, (Sir G. Cockburn,) who having taken time, as is his wont, to consider the question, came to the conclusion that it might not inevitably succeed, but that there was an infinitely greater chance of its succeeding than stationing the ships at Brazil and Cuba—(hear, hear.) I must observe, also, that the noble lord is wrong in supposing that it follows as a matter of course, that when we

add to the force on the coast of Africa we must withdraw our force on the coast of Brazil. There is also this advantage, that at Brazil there is a constant demand for our force for other purposes, which cannot be the case on the coast of Africa. With every wish to employ it solely for its specific object, it will sometimes happen, as in the present case of the war between Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, that it is called in aid for the protection of the lives and property of her Majesty's subjects. It may be said that they ought not to attend to these requisitions. But depend upon it, such requisitions will always be attended to. You have, therefore, a much greater chance of its continuous and uninterrupted action against the slave trade on the coast of Africa, than you can have on the coast of Brazil. But, as I said, it by no means follows that you should altogether cease your precautionary measures on the coast of Brazil. I agree, if you did so, and trusted altogether to precautionary measures on the coast of Africa, there would be great risk of evasion, and that slaves would be landed on the coast of Brazil; and, therefore, I by no means advise the immediate cessation of such precautions—(hear, hear.) In these attempts, it is a subject of great congratulation that we have obtained the aid of France, and that the good understanding which now subsists between this country and that country, may, notwithstanding what has been suggested to the contrary, be maintained without any sacrifice of high feeling or of national honor.

* * * * *

Viscount Palmerston said he was glad to find that he and the right honorable baronet were not likely to differ as to the question of barracoons. It was useful that slave traders should know that it was the intention of the government to avail themselves of the powers which the convention with the native chiefs gave, of rooting out those nests of pirates which infested that part of the African coast. He was exceedingly glad to hear a confirmation of the good effects of the distinguished administration of General Valdez in Cuba. If the Spanish governors were honestly disposed to do their duty, the task of the British government in the suppression of the slave trade would be light indeed. He trusted that the course of friendly representation and strong remonstrance which the government intended to pursue towards the governments of Spain and Brazil, would produce the effect of awakening those governments to a sense of the obligations which they owed, not merely us, but to themselves and to the faith of treaties.

[From the Parkersburg Gazette.]

COLONIZATION MEETING.

We publish on our first page the eloquent remarks of Rev. Mr. Bocock in support of resolutions offered at the colonization meeting last week. Mr. B. is an Eastern Virginian, and we are glad to know from him that in every section of this state the same broad and philanthropic views of African colonization and civilization are entertained. His views are untainted with anything like fanaticism, they are based upon a clear and unprejudiced judgment, sustained by an honest conviction of their correctness, and engendered by the best dictates of humanity and Christian feeling. The good of the colored man is his sole aim, and when we have

such men to engage in the cause, may we not reasonably hope that a few years will behold upon the coast of Africa a republic following rapidly in the footsteps of the glorious confederacy in which we have our home?

At a meeting of the colonization society held in the Baptist Church, on the 24th ult., the following resolutions were offered by Rev. Mr. Boccock:

Resolved, 1st. That African colonization has already given existence to a rising republic of free, educated, Christian men of the African race, restored to their ancient home and father-land, it is therefore an enterprise most cheering to the heart of the patriot, the philanthropist and the Christian.

Resolved, 2d. That, as Virginians, we cordially approve the attitude which this cause assumes before the community, and acknowledge the excellence of the examples of our illustrious fathers in its support.

In support of these resolutions Mr. B. said:

I am aware, Mr. President, that the audience have expected to hear, to-night, not my voice but another and more welcome one. I have arisen merely to open the meeting by recalling the subject with which you were so much entertained on last night. And yet, sir, I would be understood as offering no apology, except such as circumstances of time and place may demand, for the advocacy of this cause.

1st. There is indeed, sir, "a rising republic of free, educated Christian men of the African race, restored to their ancient home and father-land" on the western coast of Africa. This is no longer a thing of the contingent future—no longer a vision seen by the dim eye of unreasoning hope, but it is a reality;—eye witnesses come and tell us that they have seen it, and that there is such a nation there. It would be difficult to tell what does or can cheer the heart of the patriot, the philanthropist and the Christian, if such a sight as this does not. To some this may appear to be the language of enthusiasm. But after pondering well its meaning, I, for one, am unable to see how and where it is at variance with sober truth.—There stands a young nation, formed of an injured race of men, to whom this nation owes a debt which we shall *feel better* when we have discharged, let the sin of contracting it rest where it may—a nation in which we behold rising halls of justice, academies of learning, and temples of pure religion—a nation whose independence we still guaranty, after we have bestowed it—a nation that never had a Washington or a Bolivar, because we had a Washington for them; and gave them a copy of the freedom he won for us, without being ourselves impoverished—a nation of colored men, but of freemen—a nation of those who have been slaves, but are now emancipated—emancipated by the breach of no constitutional rights, under the influence of no mad and fierce opinions—kindly led by their own consent—firmly established in their ancient home. It would seem indeed that our conception could present to itself few things more cheering than this, to the heart of the patriot, the philanthropist, and the Christian. Honorable voices have been heard in our legislative halls to encourage Greece in her struggle again to become a nation; and tears have been freely given to the fate of Poland, both for the sadness of that fate and because there was no place for a better gift. It is hard to see wherefore the state of Liberia should claim less of our sympathy, fewer of

our good wishes. The men, sir, who planned the scheme of another nation, for the deliverance of that mourning continent from the curse of the slave trade, have been assigned a last resting place in Westminster Abbey. And I will venture to surmise, that neither the Poet's Corner, nor the part of that temple of the honored dead in which lies the dust of the monarchs of England, receives a more cordial tribute of respect from the passer by, than the marble slabs which lie on the graves of Wilberforce and of Granville Sharpe.

2d. As Virginians we can cordially approve the attitude which this cause assumes before the community ; for it has no sympathy with those fierce and fiery zealots who would destroy an empire to establish a plantation ; who would pull down the skies upon our heads to catch the larks ; who would ruin the superior race to confer a doubtful benefit on the inferior ; who would sever these states into jarring fragments rather than relinquish the hope of a colored anarchy in one part of them.

As was beautifully remarked last night, the cause of American colonization does seem indeed as the vale of Tempe, which it was fabled that the gods tore asunder the rough mountains of Greece to plant between them, as the abode of beauty and of peace ; and although the advocates of extreme opinions may stand on the opposing brows and utter hostile words against each other, yet on this peaceful ground wise and good men from North and South, from East and from West, may meet, may strike hands in a great cause, and thus, at some future time of need, may bind together this Union of States which otherwise might fly into bleeding fragments. They may cement one nation while they build another.

The example of our illustrious forefathers call us, as Virginians, to support this association ; among many of whom, appear like beams of interwoven light, the names of Marshall, who long presided over it, and of Jefferson, who, if I mistake not, took an early and leading part in the measures for the suppression of the slave trade. Indeed there would be no necessity to cross Mason and Dixon's line in search of the best and most real friends of the colored race ; the distinguished sons of this commonwealth have ever been found feeling and acting so as to entitle them to be thus described. And, sir, it speaks much for the steady benevolence which has actuated them on this subject, that the intrusive clamor of fanaticism, to which they have been compelled to listen, now for many years, has not, more than it has, deadened sensibility and stopped the assisting hand on this subject.

I believe it is a maxim of law, (to which may I be permitted to refer, without making the slightest pretensions in that science ?) that you do not injure those who give an intelligent consent to your conduct : *Volenti non fit injuria*. Such is the basis of this whole enterprise. It contemplates a voluntary emancipation by the owner, and voluntary emigration on the part of the negro. Its landmarks seem clearly established, sound and just. Therefore it is supported in the Northern and Southern states. And therefore we may safely indulge hopes for it in the future ; for it is not in the nature of such a cause to go seriously backward.

A word, sir, of *Western* Virginia. This rising region of country is destined to be inhabited by a people of great vigor and activity both of

mind and of body. I am not flatterer enough to say how much this is already the case. But it seems appropriate to be one constant home of the colonization cause. Men here, as well as eastward, have eyes to see, and heads to judge, and hearts to feel the bitterness of fanaticism. They can tell the difference between doing evil that good may come of it, and pursuing "noble ends by noble means." If the east feels for the colored man, the west labors under no disability to do likewise. And if the time should ever arrive when a fraternal voice should be necessary to reawaken the generous feelings of the east, which can indeed hardly be said ever yet to have slumbered, that voice would be entirely unheeded if it came from one rod beyond the river which flows at your feet; yet if it came from Western Virginia—if there was in the blast of the trumpet no rash and reckless tone—no twang of fanaticism—no rude spirit of intrusive interference, it would doubtless be heard as the sound of a brother's voice, and binding this ancient commonwealth together in bonds of kind feeling, would stir up to generous things, in so noble a cause as the regeneration of Africa and her sons.

I lately heard a young gentleman of promising literary talents, say of the great historical work, "the Conquest of Mexico," recently come from the pen of our countryman Prescott, that probably no one had, before the publication of that work, been aware, how rich and splendid a theme his subject was for the pen of the historian; and that there is yet an almost equally inviting theme for a pen equally worthy and well qualified for the task, in the history of British arms and dominion in the East Indies, over which the eloquence of Burke has thrown so lurid and yet so brilliant a light. Now, sir, if we continue to foster, as we have planted on the coast of Africa, a nation of free and Christian men, protected by our arms, governed by our laws, and blessed with our religion; and if, as may be the case, the boy is sitting here to night who shall be the future historian of that great device, how advantageously will his subject compare with—how far excel the bloodshed and rapine which marked the track of Cortes and of Pizarro! How shall British as well as Spanish conquest fade away in its glory before an enterprise which God and good men have planted and fostered in all the steps of its progress! When our eyes shall turn away from the sickening record of the wrongs and oppressions of scarred and down-trodden humanity, as presented in the other two histories, how sweet and pleasant to every good impulse in the heart of every good man, will be that unspotted page which records the history of this free and happy nation on the African coast! Sir, I am done. Whichever way I look, I can see nothing to cause the heart of any true son or daughter of Virginia to falter in giving cordial approbation to the attitude which this cause assumes before the community; in acknowledging the excellence of the examples of our illustrious fathers in support of it; and in doing likewise to the extent of our abilities.

[This speech is published at the repeated request of the respected agent, and a few other friends who heard it. It would not have been voluntarily done; and not feeling guilty of the lust of notoriety, I have only to hope it may inspire some beneficial interest in other minds, if at all worthy to do so.]

[From the Maryland Colonization Journal.]

Below will be seen a communication from Mr. Garrison Draper, containing a notice of a meeting of free colored people in Govanstown, and the formation of a "Society of Enquiry" to obtain authentic information with regard to the colony of Liberia. The opposition of the free colored people of Baltimore and its vicinity, to colonization, Liberia, and all interest connected with Africa, is so virulent and unrelenting, that we should consider any thing like the formation of a society for a free and candid inquiry upon the subject, as a hoax or possum game, so often played off in these parts, were it not vouched for by so respectable a man as Mr. Draper. Whether it will amount to any thing we leave time to determine, but certainly the measure is a laudable one, and we will most freely supply the members with a copy of our journal, gratis. If they pursue their enquiry in good faith, they will either become colonizationists, or have better reasons for not being so than most mouthers and railers now have, with old stale snake and Georgia stories. Mr. Draper shall have as much room in our columns as he pleases to occupy, and any one choosing to reply, shall have the same privilege :

To the Editor Colonization Journal :

SIR :—At a meeting of free colored people at Govanstown, on Sunday, the 6th of the present month, at their usual place of meeting, the Methodist Episcopal Church, Major Anthony Wood, of Cape Palmas, was present by special request of the authorities of said church, and was requested to favor the meeting with such statements respecting the colony as he might consider interesting and useful to those present, which he accordingly did, and the association or society, whose constitution I send you herewith, was at that time formed. Should you see fit to publish it in your journal, you are at liberty to do so. Also should it meet with your approbation to supply each of the members with a copy of your journal, gratis, it would be very acceptable, for that seems to be the only channel by which the information sought for can be obtained.

I would add a few remarks. Within the last twenty years I have given much thought to the project of colonizing Africa with the free people of color from the United States, and it appears to me that the right course is not pursued to induce them to emigrate, their fancy and senses are appealed to, and not their judgment. They are persuaded that by going to Africa, they can enjoy a life of ease and luxury, instead of labor and hardships. The object appears, to persuade and coax them to go. I think the solution of one or two questions would go far towards settling the matter of our *rights* in this country. What were the motives which induced the English, Scotch, Irish, French, and other European nations to emigrate to this country? Did they come of their own free will, and did they acquire, according to the customs and usages of civilized nations, legal possession of the territory? Then I would ask, what was the condition and prospects of the Africans on coming to this country? Did they come of their own accord, and did they acquire legal possession of the territory? These are simple enquiries, but I think not the less important, and the answers to them will go far towards settling the strife

upon this subject. If you see fit to notice the few remarks here made, and desire it, I will hereafter pursue the subject further.

Your obedient servant,

GARRISON DRAPER,

Forrest St. Old Town.

PREAMBLE AND CONSTITUTION.

Whereas, a settlement has been effected on the west coast of Africa, by free persons of color, and manumitted slaves from the State of Maryland, and, whereas, various and conflicting reports are in circulation respecting the moral and political condition of that colony in consequence of a want of any correct and systematic means of correspondence, and whereas we consider the interest of the free colored people now residents of this state, are to a greater or less degree identified with the success of that colony, and that it is of the utmost importance, that we do obtain correct information of all matters connected therewith, it is, therefore,

Resolved, That we, whose names are hereunto affixed, being free persons of color, natives and residents of the State of Maryland, do form ourselves into a society for the sole purpose of obtaining and circulating among our friends correct information respecting the above described settlements in Western Africa, and we do agree to adopt the following rules and regulations for the future guidance of said society :

Rule 1st. This society shall be called the Govanstown Society of Inquiry, formed for the sole purpose of obtaining correct information relating to the political and religious advantages said to be enjoyed by such free persons of color who may emigrate to, and settle in the above described colony.

Rule 2d. The officers of this society shall be as follows, viz : one president, two vice presidents, and one corresponding secretary.

Rule 3d. This society shall have no funds, consequently, no treasurer. The only qualification for membership shall be the signing this instrument.

Rule 4th. Should necessary expenses at times be incurred by any member of the society in pursuance of its object, the same shall be liquidated by its members at the next regular meeting.

Rule 5th. No correspondence of this society shall be considered official, unless executed by the corresponding secretary or other officers of the same.

Rule 6th. There shall be one stated meeting of this society every year, unless otherwise directed by the officers of this society ; at which yearly meetings, the corresponding secretary shall report in writing, all transactions in his possession, relating to the object of this society ; also, addresses may be delivered or read by members, or other persons that may be present, in reference to the object of said society.

Rule 7th. Any free person of color, native or resident of this state, can become a member of this society, by signing this constitution.

Rule 8th. The stated meetings of this society shall be on every 4th of July, unless otherwise directed by the officers of the society.

Rule 9th. Any person may cease to be a member of this society by giving intimation of the same, either verbal or written, at any stated meeting.

Rule 10th. The officers of this society shall be governed by the rules usual in social societies.

MEMBERS' NAMES AFFIXED.

ISAAC FOREMAN,
WILLIAM JONES,
HEZEKIAH IRIMOS,
WILLIAM JOHNSTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
ANTHONY WOOD, *C. Palmas, Lib.*
DAVID WILLIAMS, *Harford co., Md.*
GARRISON DRAPER, *Baltimore.*
LLOYD JACKSON,

J. ENNIS,
GEORGE DUTTON;
MARIA JONES,
J. SMITH,
FRANCES WILLIAMS,
REBECCA TAYLOR,
ABIGAIL FOREMAN,
SUSANNA GILES,
CHARLOTTE KENNAL.

On motion, *resolved unanimously*, That J. FOREMAN be the president, and David Williams, of Harford county, its vice president, and Anthony Wood, of Cape Palmas, Liberia, 2d vice president, and Garrison Draper, No. 43 Forrest street, Baltimore city, corresponding secretary.

After which, the meeting adjourned.

Govanstown, Oct. 6th, 1844.

[From the Kanawha Gazette.]

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.—No. I.

In commencing a short series of papers upon the subject announced as the caption of this article, it is not deemed necessary to make any preliminary remarks for the purpose of explaining or defining the objects or situation of the affairs of the African Colonization Society. This has been already done in our public meetings and periodicals; and it only remains for us who follow, to pursue some of the branches of this spreading and exhaustless subject.

As the following reflections are well-meant, their author would bespeak for them a calm consideration of the truth they contain, and a charitable allowance for their feebleness.

In the present number, I shall speak of the advantages accruing from African colonization, which are three-fold:—1st. Advantage to ourselves of having the free blacks removed from among us; 2d. Advantages of removal to the blacks themselves; 3d. Advantages to the native Africans.

Upon the *two first* heads I will not at present make even a single observation. No *reasoning* is needed to convince any one that it would be better for us to be rid of free negroes. And it is equally palpable that those removed would be greatly benefitted. I will offer a few thoughts upon the *third* division, viz: The advantages to the native African.

In the first place, I remark, that reason teaches us that the black and barbarous and clanish African would more readily be influenced by one of his own than one of another color. And there are feelings and characteristics belonging peculiarly to the negro, which can only be entered into, and partaken of, by those of the same race. A mode of instruction, in order to be successful, must be suited to the character of the instructed;

and it is plain that this can best be done by those of similar natures. But we need not theorize upon this head, when its truth is so clearly established by observation. We all know that an unlearned negro preacher can interest and impress the minds of our blacks more than any white preacher is able to do. This assertion is also satisfactorily confirmed by the history of Liberia; and the conclusion seems evident, that Africa is to be civilized and Christianized through the medium of educated negroes. Now it is plain that the best way to furnish the light necessary to gain this end, is, to plant permanent colonies among them. In the short history of Liberia it has been proved that colonists can have a much greater influence upon the natives than transient missionaries. And it would require no complication of ratiocination to convince every one that such must inevitably be the case. That those who settle in the midst of them with their families—cultivate the soil—put up buildings—carry on trade, and supply them with manufactures—would naturally have more effect upon their minds, than those who go amongst them in small numbers, staying but a short time in a place, and making no permanent settlement.

Now, in view of this great and benevolent work, in which all are called to engage, where is the man of philanthropy whose conscience will allow him to deny his aid in its behalf? But above all others, can there be found one in this community, who professes to love the religion of Jesus Christ—one, who has often read the Saviour's command, "Go ye and preach the gospel to every creature," who, with his lips, offers up the petition, "Thy Kingdom come," still refusing to engage in this holy cause? I hope not.

Although we mourn over the introduction of slaves into this country, yet in it brightly shines the wisdom of Him who directs all things. It may seem fanciful, but methinks, that, by considering the matter closely, we can gain some insight into the plans of the Almighty with reference to Africa, and thus have confirmation of the fact, that "all things work together for good."

At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the great body of Africa was one slumbering mass of barbarism. But little could be effected towards her enlightenment by the civilized nations of the world, because they were not calculated to instruct this race. Soon, however, a portion of these barbarians were brought to a land where Christianity reigned; and that number has augmented, by additional importation and natural increase, to many millions, and, in fact, there has been a continual stream into this country ever since; but the tide has struck the pole, and is rolling back to their source its once polluted, but now purified waves, which are bearing upon their bosom all the riches of civilization and religion, to this untaught people. And, although the stigma of slavery now blots our national escutcheon, yet it is a comforting reflection that we have been chosen the instruments to effect the redemption of this long degraded nation. And, notwithstanding many Africans live and die in bondage, yet their posterity will be led, like the Israelites of old, to the lands of their fathers, who were carried into exile, only, that their children might be properly qualified, and return laden with the richest gifts—gifts which will far more than repay them for the sufferings undergone by those who endured the ills of slavery.

The nations of the earth may unite to annihilate the slave trade by their warlike preparations, but I believe that it is left to the Colonization Society, with proper assistance, to effect this desirable end, by a far more mild and salutary mode of procedure.

Some may choose to contrast this representation with the present aspect of Liberia, so would the cotemporaries of Columbus have done, had he predicted the existence of such a nation as ours. It appears to me, that this colony has been formed, and is progressing in the best and surest manner for establishing a great nation. We must reasonably have looked for the most woeful results, had a very large number of these colonists been thrown upon the continent of Africa without laws or organization. It was far the wisest plan to commence with a small colony, formed of persons whose characters were known to be good, and furnished with a wholesome constitution for their guidance. This colony has been gradually enlarging, and becoming more and more firmly established, and soon it will have struck its roots so deeply into the earth, and sent up so sturdy a trunk, that it can support an infinite number of leaves and branches. If it is *now* weak and small, *soon* it will be strong and great. "Despise not the day of small things." The spreading oak must trace its origin to an acorn. All mankind are the offsprings of one man. Washington and Napoleon were both helpless babes at one time, which had to be sustained by others. So Liberia now is but as an infant, yet it has the proportions of a man, and ere long the chronicler of events will assign to its name a lofty niche in Fame's proud Temple.

R. H. W.

KANAWHA SALINES, *September 17.*

[From the Kanawha Republican.]

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.—No. IV.

I have often been struck with the similarity of the proposed, and partially executed, scheme of colonizing Africa, to that followed in the colonization of North America. It is true, that Africa has not been recently discovered, but the present condition of the body of her population is very little, if any, better than that of the North American Indians at the time of their discovery. A desire for greater liberty than they possessed at the time of their emigration, has been the main-spring of the actions of both colonies. Our forefathers were oppressed at home, and sought refuge and freedom in a far distant land; just so it is with those who have gone to Liberia. These colonies also resemble each other in their progress and early history. They had in their first settlement like difficulties to encounter with the savage and pestilence. As their motives were similar—their progress through an equal number of years about the same, so I believe that they will not be widely different in their destinies. Some may think that this comparison is degrading to our nation, because of the superiority of the Circassian to the Mongolian or Ethiopian race. This idea is a very prevalent one about the whites being susceptible of much higher moral and intellectual improvement than the blacks; but developments have been made in the history of this colony which go far to disprove this belief. Heretofore we have not had the teachings of experience to guide us in our reflections upon this matter, because the mental capa-

bilities of this race have not been fully tested, having never as a people undergone any systematical process of training. Phrenologists have argued much upon this subject, and have attempted to demonstrate that, in the Ethiopian variety of the human race, there must be a lack of mental capability from the shape of the cranium, showing a preponderance of the sensual over the intellectual faculties. Be their *theory* what it may, this much of *practice* appears to refute it. In Liberia, a printing press has been established, from which is regularly issued a newspaper, and occasionally public documents and miscellaneous pieces, all of which will compare favorably with like writings in our own country. And also in the administration of their government, and the management of all their concerns, they display as much sagacity and good judgment as white men evince under more favorable circumstances.

Surely, it is the character of its inhabitants that exalt a nation, and renders it worthy of esteem. Now, it will be found on examination that in point of education, morality, and talent, Liberia is fully equal to Colonial America when of the same age. In fact there is far more attention given to education in Liberia, than was paid to it in Virginia during the first eighty years after its settlement.

To carry out the parallel still further, many of the American colonies were planted, and in their infancy sustained by associations of individuals, which in their organization resembled the Colonization Society, and after a certain number of years, taxes were required for the payment of their land rent, and for the British crown. And, although these taxes were often enormous, the colonies thrived and rapidly increased in number and wealth. Here is a point that I will dwell upon a little.

If this colony be well supported for a time, why may not taxes be required of it after it has been sufficiently forwarded? not for the purpose of enriching the society, but to be applied to the transportation of more colonists. I am well aware that the mention of this causes the mind to revert forcibly to the period when our forefathers groaned under British rapacity, but let it not be contemplated to establish any but a system of the most moderate taxation. Because a good thing has, in former times, been abused, that is no argument for its everlasting rejection. As long as the American colonists paid reasonable taxes, they were contented, and this too when their taxes went from them irrevocably to enrich others; but in this instance, the tax would really be for the good of the colony, because it would bring to them accessions of strength. These taxes may be paid in products of their own labor. The articles which they could supply, are in constant demand in this country, and they could be brought over as return loads for ships carrying out emigrants, and sold here for a good profit. Or, if it be deemed better, say that in a given number of years each emigrant be required to pay the original cost of his transportation. This would not be oppression in consideration of the fertility of the soil, and the number of crops that are gathered in a year. We have been informed that a man can there sustain himself by working three days in a week. Such ease in procuring a subsistence, and the difficulty of disposing of their surplus produce, might lead to indolence unless they were required to supply a part of it for other objects. Thus a proper graduation of taxation would infuse life and vigor into the colony. And they would

cheerfully bear it, knowing that they were casting "their bread upon the waters to find it after many days."

It would of course be entirely inexpedient to tax this colony in its present state, but, if it is for a while longer properly assisted, the capabilities of enlarging it would be so augmented that multitudes of this oppressed people would yearly be removed to the land which God gave to their race. And, as this state of things continues, the annual number of colonists will be increased, until the current of emigration will set broad and strong for the African continent, as it once did and still does from Europe to this country. Only give them the facilities, and it will be passing strange if our negroes will not be filled with eagerness to go, in view of the superiority of the station which they would occupy in that country, to the one which they now hold in this.

But, reader, do not let our dreams, well-founded as they may be, of the future greatness of this colony, cause us to forget one very practical truth, which is, we must give it much pecuniary aid before we can realize our hopes. The society is now endeavoring to raise the sum of 20,000 dollars for the purchase of territory in Africa. And it is very important that this should be done immediately, inasmuch as there is danger of this land, which lies between the tract now owned by the society, falling into the hands of other nations, and thereby causing trouble. Therefore, what we mean to do, let us do quickly.

It was for a long time a debateable point, whether a colony could be established within the tropics, or, granting this, whether the plan of African colonization could be made to succeed. The affirmation to both of these questions has been triumphantly established by experiment. This scheme was in itself a noble conception, worthy of the great minds that gave it birth, and carried it into execution. Amid the sneers and scoffs, and confident prediction of failure, emanating from various sources, coupled with opposition, coming even from antagonist parties in the north and south, the society has demonstrated the feasibility of this plan, and the purity of their motives, and now that they have met and triumphed over the many difficulties that beset their path—have borne the heat and burden of the day—they come to us, and ask our co-operation. They do not promise that the assistance now afforded will be re-imbursed in kind, to this generation, but do with reason promise that if we do our duty, our children, our state, our country, will reap from it a harvest of blessing, the very prospect of which should quell the risings of selfishness in our bosoms, and even cause us to rejoice that we are privileged to enlist in such an undertaking.

R. H. W.

[From the Colonization Herald.]

THE CONTRAST.

We read in a late English paper, that several vessels have left the port of Liverpool, for the western coast of Africa, each carrying an experienced practical chemist, furnished with tests for ascertaining the real qualities and composition of ores and salts. The destination of these vessels is understood to be between the 20th and 30th degrees of latitude, on the

western coast; and their object the discovery of certain supposed veins of copper, lead, iron or gold, stated to exist about forty miles from the sea coast, and in a rich and fertile country.

This is a picture over which cupidity may gloat, when imagining the perspective of golden treasures dug out of the bowels of the earth, by the half-savage and pagan inhabitants, under the direction and rule of so called Christian men. Science is here but the menial of avarice, diffusing no light of better knowledge among the minds of the people of that region. The tests are of capabilities of the earth to furnish mineral treasure, but not of the susceptibilities of the people to be converted into beings of a higher order of intelligence, and to evolve moral attributes for their own benefit and social improvement.

Let us pass to the contemplation of another picture, the subject of which is furnished by vessels that have sailed from different ports of the United States, within the last year—New Orleans, Norfolk, Boston—for the western coast of Africa. Each of them has had, not indeed a practical chemist, but practical readers of the Gospel, furnished, not with tests of minerals, but with tests of African capabilities for religious and intellectual instruction. The people on board of these vessels do not go in quest of gold or of silver, in unknown regions, but to take quiet and peaceable possession of land, which, with the labor of their own hands, will yield them a golden harvest. They will not, by compulsory means or for stinted wages, make the inhabitants in the interior, excavate the earth into shafts and galleries, from which the light of day and the light of reason and religion will be excluded there, as they have been too generally in England itself, in the like spots. The people in our vessels contribute their shares to the exertions of their brethren, older inhabitants of Liberia, to initiate the aborigines into the truths of religion and the arts of civilized life, to raise for them and for themselves temples to the living God, schools for the acquisition of learning, and of a knowledge of their civil and political duties. These were the intentions, by this time in many instances carried into effect, of the persons who embarked in the vessels that left the United States for the Colony of Liberia, in Western Africa, within the present year. They were emigrants to that country, intending to spend their lives there, and to add to its substantial prosperity, while seeking to advance their own.

This is a picture on which Americans, as philanthropists and as Christians, may love to gaze; nor does it require the imaginative eye to see, in its perspective, in place of the desolate waste above, and darkness, and grinding labor and groans below, of a mining district, plantations of the coffee tree and sugar cane, fields covered with rice and cassada, villages whose inhabitants are contented and happy; the men engaged in the labors of the farm, the women superintending household affairs; the children in groups at school, during the week—and all collected at church and Sunday school on the Sabbath. These are not fancy sketches, but pictures of real life—of scenes and occurrences in Western Africa, made by the departure of vessels from the United States, during the last twenty years, carrying out, as they have done, missionaries and pious converts, and hardy colonists, who have taken with them tests to ascertain the rich

qualities hidden in the rough ore of the African mind, and a skill in Christian alchemy, by which they have transmuted the dross of idolatry into the pure gold of faith and charity.

Is it not worth while chronicling the departure of vessels manned by such persons and destined for such a country? Would that we could persuade Englishmen to forego for a season their over-wrought zeal of abolition propagandism, and to look, without the glass of prejudice, at the labors and success of African colonization; that so they might then join with their prayers and their purse in aid of the efforts of their fellow Christians on this side of the Atlantic, to carry out, to its consummation the noblest scheme of benevolence of this or any former age. Of what avail to the progress of civilization and Christianity have been their expeditions to the Niger, or their vessels carrying out chemists in quest of mines of gold and other minerals, or even the settlement of Sierra Leone itself, made and kept up at such vast expense of life and of money? How different would be the state of poor Africa, if a tithe of the money and labor thus squandered, had been appropriated and expended under the stewardship of our colonization societies, for the sending out of free emigrants to Africa, and the purchase and improvement of territory in that country. A small sum contributed for this purpose, enabled the Pennsylvania Society to found Bexley, which, within the brief period of a few years, has become one of the most flourishing, and, all things considered, the best cultivated settlement in Liberia.

If Englishmen are sincere and earnest in their desire to see slaves emancipated, then let them step forward and manifest that liberality, which they are so prompt to display in any cause that they approve, and we can promise them a perennial stream of migration of freeman to Africa, who, if not thus embarked, must remain in hopeless slavery. Do Englishmen desire to civilize and christianize Africa? We have shown them the true means for the accomplishment of this great object—and if they make us their agents and almoners, we can promise to have all their darling hopes realized.

Mutato nomine—To you, sons of New England, does this address also apply: we would speak to you in the same strain, urge you by the same appeals, and make to you the like promises; confident as we are, that, with the aid not only of your money, but of your practical sagacity, all of them would be realized, and the peace and welfare of our common country preserved from the strife which now alarms, if it does not endanger.

[From the Maryland Colonization Journal.]

LATEST FROM CAPE PALMAS.

We have received by Barque Pilot, of Boston, advices from Cape Palmas, as late as the fifteenth of May, at which time the colony was in its usual healthy and prosperous condition. Very important advances have recently been made in opening a free communication with the interior tribes. The circumstances which led to this are not a little interesting, and serve to show that African monarchs and statesmen, in the science of diplomacy, are not so very far behind those of Christendom. It will be recollected that in the first purchase of territory at Cape Palmas, the treaty

was made with the tribes bordering on the beach, and that no intercourse whatever was held with the chiefs of the interior, who were represented to the colonists as being hostile to the settlement, and averse to free intercourse with it; and they in turn were made to believe that the policy and intent of the government of the colony would prove exceedingly injurious to their country. This double deception has actually been kept up for nearly ten years. That the game should have been successful for a while, before any of the colonists had learned to speak the Grebo language, and all intercourse with the Bush people was through a native interpreter, is not to be wondered at; but, as many colonists have for the past six years understood the language, and have been present at the palavers between the natives and colonists, we are astonished that the deception should not have been sooner discovered; and we must say, that it reflects no great credit upon the capacity and shrewdness of the colonists. Even the murder of Parker, which our readers will recollect was perpetrated by the Barrakah people, a tribe some eight or ten miles distant, was instigated by our liege king, Freeman, and Yellow Will, head-man and chief interpreter to the governor; and many other minor palavers between the colonists and Bush people, have been projected and brought about by the natives, in order to perpetuate this misunderstanding. How they got at the truth of the matter and discovered the treachery of Yellow Will, whether by the miscarriage of some plan of his, or by a long train of circumstances, we have not been informed. But the fact is, the mists have cleared away, and instead of being surrounded by a cordon of enemies, the colonists find themselves greeted on every side by warm friends. Their Bush neighbors, the Barrakahs, Saureekahs, and Boorobohs, are all anxious for free commercial and social intercourse with the colonists, and we doubt not their true interests will prompt them to perpetuate these good feelings. The Saureekahs already have schools established among them, by the M. E. mission, and the Barrakahs have already petitioned for the same advantages. Mr. Seyes, the superintendent of the missions, was at Cape Palmas at the time of the sailing of the Pilot, and hoped to be able very soon to supply the principal towns with preachers and teachers.

The light house is at last fairly established on the cape, a most prominent and welcome sight to the African voyager. We are not informed of its actual elevation or the magnitude and intensity of the light, but it is distinctly visible off the Garroway Reef, full twenty miles to the windward, and off Rockbockah, about the same distance to the leeward. This light must save a vast deal of time at least in vessels running down the coast, close in shore, and occasionally a vessel and human life. What grade in the scale of civilization does the establishment of a light house mark?

The orange trees in the colony are now producing abundantly; the cocoas have blossomed, and the sapotillas are in a thriving condition. We hope daily to receive still later advices.

[From the Missionary Herald.]

LETTER FROM MR. WILSON, MAY 8, 1844.

AVERSION OF THE NATIVES TO THE FRENCH.

The following extract from a letter which has just been received from the Gaboon, contains the latest intelligence respecting the instance of

French aggression which was described at length in the last number of the Herald :

“Mr. Walker wrote to you some time in the early part of April, giving the details of the difficulties between King Glass’s people and the French. Since then nothing of very special importance has occurred. The people have forwarded a protest to Louis Philippe against the claims of the French authorities here to exercise jurisdiction over their territory, and an appeal to the English government for their interference ; both were signed by more than one hundred persons. Until they hear the result of this protest and appeal they will remain passive. In this they act in accordance with our advice. Thus far no forcible measures have been resorted to, and the country remains in the same condition as formerly. Indeed the French are not prepared for the outbreak which they apprehend will take place, as soon as the people come to understand that they have signed a paper which cedes their land to the French crown, when they were told that it was only a letter of friendship to Louis Philippe ; and for the present they are trying to conceal this fact from the natives.

“Some weeks ago a large party of armed soldiers were landed at King Glass’s town, from two French men-of-war anchored off the place, to demand satisfaction for one or two beacon-posts—set up to survey by—that had been thrown down and destroyed on the beach ; and, although they received the most satisfactory assurance that it had not been done by the countenance of the king or of any of his head-men, they nevertheless seized all the best boats and canoes of the natives, carried them off, and still detain them in custody. A few days since a proposition was made to deliver up these articles, if the people generally would add their signatures to the paper which had been obtained from King Glass. This offer they treated with contempt ; and they feel not a little exasperated against the French at the present time. What course things will take, should their appeals to the French and English fail, cannot be foreseen. Their present feelings would lead them to retire from the river, and seek ample revenge for this breach of justice. Indeed we have been told repeatedly, that it is out of regard to our advice that they remain quiet under existing circumstances. But they cannot contend with the French ; and the probability is that they will be obliged, in the absence of English interference, to seek some other home on the coast.”

Mr. Wilson continues to entertain the favorable opinion respecting the healthiness of the Gaboon River, which he has hitherto expressed. “We think the climate here,” he says, “more favorable to the health of Europeans than that of the other coast.”

COLONIZATION OFFICE,

Boston, November 1, 1844.

REV. AND DEAR SIR :—I received to-day a letter from the Rev. ———, who, you may have been informed, acts as our agent in his vicinity, we paying his horse-hire. As it gives a very accurate sample of the *nature* of our work in Massachusetts, I transcribe some parts of it. He says :

“I enclose two dollars, as the first fruits of my labors in this county in behalf of the colonization enterprise. It was given by the ——— Socie-

ty, of ———. The sum contributed was \$2 75; my horse-hire was one dollar; but as it is inconvenient to send 75 cents in change, I have added 25 cents from my own purse. The people seemed to be heartily ashamed of this small contribution; but they came together supposing that nothing could be said to justify their giving at all. The facts, however, which were communicated, changed all their views on the subject, and they promise to do better next time.

"The places which Dr. Tenney regarded as accessible, I found to be closed, because the time devoted to taking collections for this society, had gone by, and other objects of charity must have their turn.

"I have stated the facts, so far as I know them, in reference to the claims of the Colonization Society, to our ——— association; and, with two or three exceptions, all are in favor of giving the cause a hearing before their people, and of allowing me to address them as soon as circumstances permit. The month during which, heretofore, collections have been taken, is that of July; and I do not expect that, till then, much can be done, except to prepare the way by scattering light and truth on the subject, among the ministers and churches. I am amazed at the ignorance of some of our best ministers, as to what the Colonization Society has done for the benefit of the African race during the last half a dozen years. They seem to have got the impression that this society was dead and buried long ago."

* * * * *

This change in their views, I think, may be expected to give us collections next summer, in twenty or twenty-five congregations from which we have hitherto been excluded. The first collections will probably be small; but if our affairs go on well abroad, will increase from year to year.

Another fact. In the ——— parish in ———, no agent is allowed to collect money for any object. The people contribute what they have to give, into a general fund, which they divide by vote among the various objects thought worthy to receive their aid. This year they have voted us ten dollars.

Very truly yours,

Rev. W. McLAIN.

J. T.

[From the Colonization Herald.]

EMIGRANTS.

Arrangements have been entered into between the Pennsylvania Colonization Society and the Maryland Colonization Society, by which the latter agrees to send out with its own emigrants to Liberia, the slaves, 27 in number, recently manumitted by Mr. Wilson, of Kentucky. The Pennsylvania society has volunteered the guardianship of these people, with a view to seeing them safely embarked for Liberia, and has undertaken to pay the expenses of travel and passage. Its agent, Mr. Pinney, is now on his way to Kentucky, to give effect to these intentions.

On this measure we calculate, as heretofore, on the considerate liberality of our fellow citizens, to enable us to fulfil, with the requisite punctuality, our share of the engagement thus contracted. Some money, the

proceeds of the devise of a member and friend of the society, now deceased, will, it is hoped, be available for the purpose ; but, in view of existing obligations, much more will be required. We do not fear that, in this matter, we shall plead in vain.

In proof of the spirit by which so many of our fellow citizens in the south and west are animated, we subjoin a copy of a letter received by Mr. Pinney from Mr. Wilson, on the subject of his former slaves. If the people of the north and east were to meet such demonstrations of deep interest in the welfare of the colored race, as are manifested in this letter, with a corresponding feeling, slavery would soon cease in the entire length and breadth of our land—Texas and its drawbacks notwithstanding. If one freely gives up his slaves—another should make provision for those manumitted slaves, and place them not only beyond the reach of degradation, but take measures for elevating them in the social and political scale. Can this be accomplished in any other way than by securing them national independence as a guaranty for the perpetuity of personal freedom? In Liberia, all this may be brought about without conflict, without the war of angry passions or danger of rupture of the Federal compact.

LOUISVILLE, *July 22d, 1844.*

DEAR BROTHER:—Your letter of the 15th, from Maysville, I received just as I was leaving home for Louisville, and I hasten to answer it from this place.

Although I saw in the newspapers something of your operations in Kentucky, and your appeal to the public through the Presbyterian, for aid to send my people out this fall to Liberia, yet I was impatient to receive a letter from you on the subject, both for my own satisfaction and that of my people who are anxious to be off. I thank you for the interest you are taking in their welfare, and hope you may be successful in obtaining a sufficient amount to send them this fall.

I need no prompting to entertain the proposition you make (to send them myself) if I only had the ability. But my misfortune is my property consists mostly in slaves, and after giving them their freedom and outfit of \$1,000, I should have *little enough left* to render me and my family comfortable and independent the remainder of our lives.

My health has been improving and now is pretty good. Mrs. Wilson's health is very good ; and in her zeal, she tells me to give up all for the cause—that she is able and willing to work with her own hands for our support. But in this I think her zeal is not according to knowledge. Please give my respects to Mrs. Pinney, and accept for yourself assurances of my highest regard and esteem. Do not forget statedly to write to me.

Yours truly,

Rev. J. B. PINNEY.

J. H. WILSON.

[From the Liberia Herald.]

AFRICAN BELIEF.

Those who suppose that there is not in heathen minds, any idea of a connexion between virtue and happiness and vice and punishment, manifest an ignorance of their customs ; or if acquainted with their customs,

that they have taken but a superficial view of the subject. This will hold good at least of all the African tribes with which we have been conversant. It is true, that the idea of virtue differs in different countries. The ancient Scandinavians regarded it highly virtuous and acceptable to *Thor*, when he fell upon and butchered scores of helpless and unoffending victims. With the ancient Greek, sensuality or war or revelry was a virtue, accordingly as he worshipped the imaginary deities, *Venus*, or *Mars*, or *Bacchus*, their presiding patrons. We have not to conjecture what the Mahomedan or the Papist or the Protestant christian would reply, was the question, what is virtue? put to him. Savages have *their* virtues; and although they may exclude other nations from the benefit of their operations, still, as it regards themselves, they connect happiness with the practice of these virtues.

These reflections were forced upon our mind by a conversation recently had with an intelligent Vey man, who was once under the pupilage of the celebrated King *Peter Softly*, of Big Town. The conversation related to Jenkins, of whom we gave some account in a former number of our paper. He said:

“King Peter was a great man—and Jenkins was his boy. The king made Jenkins head man to land the cargoes from vessels coming for slaves and ivory. Jenkins became rich, and the king was very fond of him. At length, King Peter died, and was buried, and a great quantity of silver in cups, spoons and basins, was put in the grave with him. Soon after the king died, Jenkins went off and built a town for himself, and became a great man. Afterwards a dispute arose between Jenkins and Jarah Fingee, the son and successor of King Peter. The parties appealed to arms. After years of combat, Jenkins’s arms succeeded. He took Big Town, Jarah Fingee’s capitol, where the late king was buried. The conqueror made an indiscriminate butchery of all the captives, and prepared to level the town to the earth. Before, however, he burned the place, he sacrilegiously exhumed the mouldered remains of the king—consumed the body under the smouldering ruins of the town, and bore away the head, and the silver of which he robbed the grave, as the trophies of his arms. The whole country was smitten with consternation by this act of impiety. Jarah Fingee retired, sickened in heart, to invoke the aid of that Power, which, ignorant as he is, he believes will punish vice and impiety.

“Jarah Fingee took a mug of water and poured forth before it, the following lamentation: ‘Jenkins was my father’s boy. My father gave him water to drink—rice to eat and cloth to wear. He made him man. My father died—we buried him and put money in the grave with him. Jenkins and I quarrelled, my father did not quarrel with him—we fought—my father did not fight him. He took my town. That was nothing. If he beat me, that was no palaver. But why did he trouble my father? Why did he dig him up and burn him? Why did he carry away the silver we put in the ground?’”

Then follows the imprecation, thus: After breathing violently on the mug, he exclaimed:

“‘Whatever he attempts, let him not be successful in—if he plant, let it not grow—if he make war, let him be killed—if he remain at home, let him die soon.’”

The ceremony seems simple to us;—but it is their ceremony—fixed in their minds as an acceptable recognition of an Almighty power, not inattentive to the concerns of mortals. We have ventured to put it down.

Twelve months afterwards Jenkins died. I asked my informant, who was one of Jarah Fingee's subjects, if he supposed that the *gregree* killed Jenkins—he replied at once, “*No, but that thing Jenkins do, God no like 'em.*”

It has been supposed that Jenkins was carried off by poison.

THE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE NEGROES.

The Synod of Kentucky adopted the following preamble and resolutions on this subject:

Whereas, the Presbytery of Georgia has issued a memorial to the Presbyteries of the Southern States, in reference to the religious instruction of the negroes, and, *whereas*, this Synod consider this subject one of deep and vital importance, therefore,

Be it resolved, 1st. That we heartily approve of the efforts which are now made to awaken an interest in the church on this subject, and recommend it to the Board of Domestic Missions to take the work of evangelizing the negroes, in hand, and establish some permanent plan for carrying it into execution.

2d. That we pledge ourselves to co-operate with the board, in carrying out any judicious plan which they may adopt, for extending the gospel to this long neglected class of our population.

3d. That we recommend to all our ministers to hold special stated meetings for the benefit of the negroes, and endeavor to enlighten their minds upon the great fundamental doctrines and duties of the gospel, and for this purpose, as far as practicable, to form them into bible and catechetical classes.

4th. That we recommend to all masters to use diligent efforts for the moral and religious improvement of their servants, especially by teaching them the truths of the bible, and inducing them to attend upon the stated means of grace.

5th. That we enjoin upon the Presbyteries under our care, at each regular meeting, to enquire of their ministers and churches, what has been done upon this subject, and thus endeavor to awaken an increased interest in the religious instruction of the negroes.

S. S. McROBERTS,

Stated Clerk of the Synod of Ky.

The Protestant and Herald alluding to the departure of Mr. Wilson's slaves, makes the following statement, which shows how ready he was to sacrifice his own interest for his people's welfare. After all that has been said to the contrary, there is some nobleness and generosity left in the world, *and even in the South*:

Although Mr. Wilson had but about six days' notice of the sailing of the vessel, and all of his crop is still unprotected in the field, his desire to get them off was so great that he consented to give them up on this short notice. A simple statement of the facts in the case is all that is necessary to induce the friends of the cause, who have the means, to contribute liberally in answer to this call. Those who are willing to give for this object, are requested to send it on immediately.

[From the Colonization Herald.]

APPEAL IN BEHALF OF EMANCIPATED SLAVES.

The Pennsylvania Colonization Society announced recently its deep regret at the melancholy fate of a large body of slaves, who had long been training by their pious owner for usefulness in Africa. For want of funds, they have been consigned to perpetual slavery, and their hopes of freedom in Liberia, forever defeated.

Another large and highly interesting family in Kentucky, are now earnestly pressed upon our care by their venerable owner, who has mortgaged his farm to give them an outfit, but is unable to bear the expenses of their emigration.

Anxious to meet the wishes of both parties without delay, we earnestly invite the co-operation of our fellow citizens in this work of practical benevolence, fully persuaded that we can in no other way so effectually make reparation to down-trodden Africa, for the sins of the past three centuries.

Donations in money, clothing, dry goods, implements of husbandry, iron, nails, &c., will be gratefully received at the society's office, Walnut street, 4th door above Sixth street.

JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL,

President.

At the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, for the election of officers, held at the Colonization Rooms, on Monday, October 14th, 1844, the following gentlemen were elected officers for the ensuing year :

President,

HON. JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL.

Vice Presidents,

DR. JOHN BELL,
ELLIOT CRESSON, Esq.,
HON. JOEL JONES,
REV. G. W. BETHUNE, D. D.,
CAPT. W. E. SHERMAN,
HON. WILLIAM SHORT,
LLOYD MIFFLIN, Esq.,
GERARD RALSTON, Esq.,
REV. C. C. CUYLER, D. D.,
REV. S. H. TYNG, D. D.,
W. CHANCELLOR, Esq.,
E. F. BACKUS, Esq.,
REV. J. McDOWELL, D. D.,

REV. H. A. BOARDMAN, D. D.,
JOSEPH DUGAN, Esq.,
SAMUEL DAVIS, Esq.,
REV. JOEL PARKER, D. D.,
DR. GEORGE B. WOOD,
STEPHEN COLWELL, Esq.,
HON. WALTER FORWARD,
CHARLES BREWER, Esq.,
JOHN McDONOGH, Esq.,
DR. R. R. REED,
F. LORENTZ, Esq.,
DR. THOMAS HODGKIN.

Secretary and Treasurer,

ROBERT B. DAVIDSON, Esq.

Board of Managers,

DR. L. P. GEBHARD,
WILLIAM WURTS, Esq.,
PAUL T. JONES, Esq.,
BENJAMIN COATES, Esq.,
REV. LEVI SCOTT,
REV. M. B. HOPE,

REV. A. D. GILLETTE,
MOSES JOHNSON, Esq.,
ROBERT SOUTTER, Esq.,
A. MCINTYRE, Esq.,
J. R. WILMER, Esq.,
WILLIAM BUCEHLER, Esq.

AFRICA.

Africa, bleeding, degraded Africa, was never so rich with promise. The incidents which have been recorded by the superintendent of the African mission, and recently published, are of a most thrilling character. Ethiopia is literally stretching out her hands to God! At least *twenty additional missionaries* could now be advantageously employed in that mission, if the board could command the means, and if the bishops had the men. As to men, we are happy to say that several colored preachers of good character are now ready to go to Africa. God is now stirring up the spirits of that class of men who seem, so far as we can judge, the appropriate instruments to carry the glad tidings of salvation to the nations and tribes in the interior, which are now anxiously waiting to listen to "the God-palaver," which is as happily adapted to the condition and wants of the the untutored African, as it is to those who enjoy the blessings of civilization. Did Jesus, in the days of his flesh, have "compassion on the multitude, because they were faint and scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd," and does he now despise the lost "sheep in the wilderness?" Surely not. This voice comes to every Christian heart with the freshness of originality—the authority of a divine call from Heaven. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few. *PRAY ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth LABORERS into His harvest.*" And while we see our prayers answered—our colored brethren standing forth and saying, *here are we, send us*—shall the *means* to send them be wanting? Shall the work be retarded? Shall the regeneration of Africa be delayed for want of the small amount of means which is indispensable? No! God forbid!—let us hear the response from the east, west, north, and south—*it shall not be!* The hungry poor, spread over the sandy deserts, the sunny hills, and the verdant vales; and ensconced in the deep, dark, dense forests of the land of Ham, *shall have the bread of life.* And to this response the missionary board will answer back again, AMEN; and will, with all, send up to the great Head of the Church, a fresh tribute of gratitude and praise. But we must restrain our feelings. The subject is thrilling—the interest is overwhelming; but after this mere glance, we must leave our brethren to make up a just estimate of it, and pass on.—*Christian Advocate and Journal.*

[From the Dumfries and Calloway Courier.]

LONDON LETTER IN THE AYR ADVERTISER.

Lord Palmerston's speech on the slave trade has made an immense impression. To say nothing of its many sharp hits, it is considered as proving that on this great question, as on too many others, the opinions of Sir Robert Peel are wavering, and his actions hollow and insincere. He professes a delicacy in authorising the attacks by our naval officers on the barracoons, or slave depots, erected by Spanish merchants on the coast of Africa; and this he does out of delicacy to the feelings of the African chiefs, from a wish not to be suspected of violating their territory! Let the following extract, from a description of one of these barracoons, prove to your readers the kind of places which are protected by the delicate scruples of the British minister:

"Among the slaves were persons of both sexes, from 5 to 40 years of age. Some of them were smoking, and I was told that they had a small

allowance of tobacco. Not one of the number, of whatever age or sex, had any covering. A few of them appeared light-hearted and frivolous in despite of their chains; the countenances of others showed that they were sunk almost to a state of idiocy. But most of them appeared thoughtful, pensive, and melancholy. With the exception of some 20 or 30 invalids, all were seated on logs laid lengthwise and about three feet apart, under the open shade already mentioned. Most of the men were fastened two and two, one angle of each being fettered; in moving about, which was apparently done with pain and difficulty, each rested his arm on the shoulder of the other. The women, girls, and half-grown boys, were made secure by a brass ring encircling the neck, through which a chain passed, grouping them together in companies of 40 or 50 each. Boys and girls under 10 years of age were left unshackled.

"There was one company which particularly arrested my attention and affected my heart. It was made up of mothers who had recently been bereft of their children. How they came to be chained together I cannot tell, unless their keepers, yielding to what they deemed an innocent and harmless desire, allowed them to be drawn together by their sympathies and sorrows. Their owner knew, perhaps, what had become of their children, but he was unaffected by the reminiscence. Not so with them. Their countenances indicated an intensity of anguish which cannot be described. Though heathen mothers, a flame had been kindled in their hearts which no calamity could extinguish. When infants are born in the barracoon, or when they are brought there with their mothers, because it is inconvenient to keep them in the factory, and almost impossible to carry them across the ocean, they are subjected to a premature and violent death. I speak advisedly, when I affirm that this is a common occurrence in the operations of the slave trade; and it was in this way, I was credibly informed, that these sorrowing females had been sundered from their offspring.

"The practice, then, of immolating infants is common in Western Africa; not that the natives are guilty of such cruelty, for they regard the deed with horror, and their idolatry, however blind and superstitious, has never reached this climax of cold-blooded depravity. It is a custom of white men, the nominal representatives of Christianity, begun and continued purely to gratify an insatiable avarice."

THE SLAVE BUSINESS.—The British vessel of war *Ringdove*, arrived at Sierra Leone on the 23d June, and found there the Spanish brigantine "*Sirius*," with 326 slaves on board, bound to the Havana, and sent in by H. M. S. *Sappho*. There were 2,500 slaves at the Gallinas, in the factories, ready for shipment. The *Hydra* had lost 20 men by sickness. The *Albatross* and *Wasp* had also arrived at Sierra Leone. The *Madagascar* had captured ten slave vessels with 1,400 slaves. She would sail for England on the return of the *Penelope*, which vessel had left Port Praya for Ascension, with fresh water. The rain had set in: the weather was not unusually hot; there was very little sickness. The *Ringdove* had, as do all men-of-war on that station, shipped several Kroomen; she was to sail immediately to cruise off Gallinas.

NOTICE.

Owing to the absence of the Editor, the receipts of the last month are omitted in the present, but will appear in the next number. For the same reason, also, the indulgence of correspondents, whose favors have not been attended to, is requested until after his return.





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